



Universiteit  
Leiden  
The Netherlands

## **Postcoloniality: A Matter of Perspective. Introduction**

Jedamski, D.A.

### **Citation**

Jedamski, D. A. (2009). Postcoloniality: A Matter of Perspective. Introduction. In *Chewing Over the West. Occidental Narratives in non-Western Readings* (p. IX-XXXI). Amsterdam, New York: Rodopi. Retrieved from <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/15119>

Version: Not Applicable (or Unknown)

License: [Leiden University Non-exclusive license](#)

Downloaded from: <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/15119>

**Note:** To cite this publication please use the final published version (if applicable).

## Introduction

DORIS JEDAMSKI

### Postcoloniality: A Matter of Perspective

**R**ECENT DECADES have seen much debate on (post)colonialism, (post)modernity, on cultural and national identities, their constitution and representation, and on a phenomenon dubbed ‘writing back’ – the response of formerly oppressed cultures and nations to their oppressors.<sup>1</sup> Coined by Salman Rushdie, the term ‘writing back’ was adopted by Ashcroft, Griffiths, and Tiffin in their trend-setting book *The Empire Writes Back*.<sup>2</sup> The title itself and, even more accentuated, the first line of the blurb on the book’s back cover bring to the fore the major restriction of their approach, and of the discourse that was to develop from it in the following decade: “The experience of colonization and the challenge of the

---

<sup>1</sup> In scholarly writing, the notion of ‘writing back’ no longer refers exclusively to the post-colonial situation but also includes various social, religious, and ethnic groups and covers, for instance, gender-related forms of counter-discourse. A valuable overview and critical discussion of the core debates on postcolonialism is provided by Ania Loomba, *Colonialism/Postcolonialism* (London & New York: Routledge, 1998), and in *The Post-Colonial Question. Common Skies, Divided Horizons*, ed. Iain Chambers & Lidia Curti (London & New York: Routledge, 1996). For some brief but enlightening thoughts on postcoloniality in its relation to postcolonialism, see the introduction by Keith Foulcher & Tony Day to *Clearing a Space. Postcolonial Readings of Modern Indonesian Literature*, ed. Foulcher & Day (Leiden: KITLV Press, 2002): 1–17. An overview of the issue of cultural identity can be found in the collection of essays *Questions of Cultural Identity*, ed. Stuart Hall & Paul du Gay (Sage: London, Thousand Oaks, California & New Delhi, 1996).

<sup>2</sup> Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths & Helen Tiffin, *The Empire Writes Back: Theory and Practice in Post-Colonial Literatures* (New York: Routledge, 1989) prominently cites a statement by Salman Rushdie (“the Empire writes back to the Centre”) as the guiding theme of their book.

post-colonial world have produced an explosion of new writing in English.”<sup>3</sup> It is undisputed that the then newly emerging scholarly awareness of this “new writing” was an essential step towards the acknowledgement of ‘the postcolonial’ and the basis of postcolonial criticism. But the “post-colonial world” by no means expressed itself in English only (or in French, Spanish or Dutch for that matter), although one must conclude, from the studies that have appeared since then in great numbers in the field of post-colonialism and cultural criticism, that the key feature of writing back is indeed the use of the language of the former colonizer – a valid assertion so long as the addressee of the writing back is the (former) colonial Western power and its representatives at the ‘Centre’.<sup>4</sup> But the notion of ‘writing back’ implies more than a counter-action aimed at the ‘Centre’; it is a multi-layered process of self-articulation that redefines Self and Other, questioning cultural and political demarcation lines. This volume understands ‘writing back’ as a complex process that can involve more than two parties, and that, while clearly involving the (formerly) colonizing culture, does not necessarily target it.

With his category of the “immigrant,” Albert Memmi, about fifty years ago, made an attempt to capture the situation of the formerly colonized that left his/her native country to live at the ‘Centre’. In comparison with the “new citizen,” who remained in his/her place of origin as witness of or participant in the nation-building process, or the “son of the immigrant,” who was born into and absorbed by the culture of the ‘Centre’, the “immigrant” remains trapped between two cultures in the most substantial and tangible way.<sup>5</sup> Memmi’s model and its terminology are to a certain extent outdated and disputable, but their core notion still prove helpful in the

---

<sup>3</sup> Ashcroft, Griffith & Tiffin, *The Empire Writes Back*, cover. For a more detailed critical assessment of the title and the volume as a whole, see Vijay Mishra & Bob Hodge, “What is post(-)colonialism?,” *Textual Practice* 5.3 (Winter 1991): 399–414.

<sup>4</sup> All binaries bear problems, and dualism such the Centre and the Periphery, the West and the East form no exception. A number of case studies in this volume indeed expose the ‘West’ as the rather relative point of reference that it is, no geographical constant but determined by changing positions and perspectives.

<sup>5</sup> Albert Memmi developed these categories, ‘*le nouveau citoyen*’ (the new citizen), ‘*l’immigré*’ (the immigrant), and ‘*le fils de l’immigré*’ (the son of the immigrant) in *The Colonizer and the Colonized*, intro. Jean–Paul Sartre, tr. Howard Greenfield (*Portrait du colonisé précédé du portrait du colonisateur*, 1957; tr. Boston MA: Beacon, 1969). The binary distinction of the Centre (equated with ‘the West’) and the Periphery (the rest of the world?) is a simplification rightfully criticized by many; the terms are applied here in direct reference to the contemporary debates and for the sake of clarity of the specific argument only.

effort to position the present collection and its objectives in relation to the main currents of postcolonial studies. When, during the 1950s, Albert Memmi and Frantz Fanon were among the first to raise their voices vehemently, they did so by “writing from within the centre as a critic of it” – in French, the language of their former colonizers.<sup>6</sup> And, like Salman Rushdie about thirty years later, they wrote back to the ‘Centre’ as the ‘immigrant’ who took colonial reality and its legacy back to the ‘Centre’.<sup>7</sup> It was ‘immigrant’ intellectuals – writers and theorists like Fanon, Memmi, Rushdie, but also Edward Said and Homi Bhabha – who opened up the most focal avenues to a new understanding of the postcolonial condition. It does not matter here whether they celebrate or condemn the immigrant’s position (‘getting the best of both worlds’ vs. ‘falling between two chairs’); in one way or another they all point to the cultural dislocation and the quasi-impossibility of ‘postcolonial’ authenticity, theorizing spaces ‘in-between’, and forms of hybridity. It is beyond doubt that they speak out of experience, having themselves endured forms of alienation and conflict, something that does lend full authenticity to their voices, but their perspective does not transcend the specific perspective of the intellectual and elite ‘immigrant’ with a cultural and educational background of Western orientation. Some vague awareness of this limitation transpires from Rushdie’s assertion that the ‘immigrant’ “is obliged to deal in broken mirrors, some of whose fragments have been irretrievably lost.”<sup>8</sup> It is evident that among these ‘fragments lost’ are the appreciation of and communication with the ‘new citizen’, hence constructive awareness of indigenous forms of expression in the indigenous languages. One might, however, even suspect that those have never been part of the immigrant’s mirror, broken or not.

It is certainly not the intention here to diminish the merits of those immensely influential writers and theorists or their works; on the contrary, they provided the very foundation for postcolonial criticism and helped induce the deconstruction of Western hegemonic paradigms. This collection of essays would perhaps not even have come into existence without their thought-provoking theorems, which also echo throughout the book. On the level of theory, Said’s provocative criticism of Western ‘readings’

---

<sup>6</sup> Mishra & Hodge, “What is post(-)colonialism?,” 400 (quotation refers to Salam Rushdie).

<sup>7</sup> I am leaning on Rushdie’s notion of ‘the immigrant’ re-importing the Empire to the Centre as depicted in “The New Empire Within Britain,” in Salman Rushdie, *Imaginary Homelands: Essays and Criticism, 1981–1991* (London: Granta/Viking Penguin, 1991): 129–38.

<sup>8</sup> Rushdie, “Imaginary Homelands,” 11.

of non-Western cultures or Bhabha's constant, wise endeavour to deconstruct the predominant dualism of binary thinking so essential to the securing of Western hegemony provided postcolonial discourse with the most valuable tools and opened up novel perspectives on processes of cultural appropriation. Their works evoked new questions, inviting, among others, a re-assessment of predominant binary distinctions such as Occident/Orient, West/East, Centre/Periphery, or Self/Other. Hence, Rushdie's overall appraisal that the "broken mirror may actually be as valuable as the one which is supposedly unflawed" can fully be subscribed to when measured by the great impact that these 'immigrant thinkers' exerted on Western discourses.<sup>9</sup> However, it cannot pass unnoticed that to substantiate their theories those scholars (like most theorists in these and related disciplines) tend to turn to literature written exclusively in the languages of the (former) colonizers.<sup>10</sup> Deliberating on the mirror-notion frequently employed in the field of literature, other questions arise as a logical consequence, questioning the adequacy of the image itself: Is there any such thing as an intact mirror? If so, where to find it? What would it reflect? Does not the reflection of a mirror always produce a distorted (even reversed) picture – and is clean perception at all possible? The mirror-image reduces literature to a mere reflection of reality, not acknowledging the complex phenomenon that it constitutes, a multifaceted process rather than an evident product. Striving to integrate new perspectives into the prevalent and inevitably fractional picture of postcolonial literature, this collection of essays deliberately neglects the perspective of "the immigrant" in order to turn to "the new citizen" (using Memmi's categories one more time). Consequently, the essays presented here all focus on forms of cultural articulation produced by non-Western cultural agents in a 'native' language and in the historical,

---

<sup>9</sup> Rushdie, "Imaginary Homelands," 11.

<sup>10</sup> Almost symptomatically, publications specifically in the field of (post)colonial literature focus on literatures written in the language of the former colonizers. The conference volume *Colonizer and Colonized*, ed. Theo D'haen & Patricia Krüs (Amsterdam & Atlanta GA: Rodopi, 2000), is only one example among many to illustrate this glaring misproportion; only three out of 48 contributions deal with literature/film produced in a non-Western language. The last decade, however, has seen a small number of publications that concentrate on non-Western forms of cultural/artistic articulation in non-Western languages; among them, in Dutch, *Weer-werk: Schrijven en terugschrijven in koloniale en postkoloniale literaturen* (Work of resistance: writing and writing back in colonial and postcolonial literatures), ed. Theo D'haen (*Semaian* 15; Leiden: Vakgroep Talen en Culturen van Zuidoost-Azië en Oceanië, 1996), and Foulcher & Day, *Clearing a Space*, on Indonesian postcolonial literature and theatre.

socio-political, and cultural context of their ‘native’ country.<sup>11</sup> With a broad comparative approach, this collection aims to open up insights into inter-cultural and intra-cultural discourses relevant to the postcolonial situation that, to date, have not been paid due attention.

### Literature and Chewing Over the West

Literature in its broadest sense played a significant role in the construction of individual, cultural, and national identities. It was a vital element in the social and cultural processes that are generally subsumed under the terms ‘decolonization’ and ‘postcolonialism/postcoloniality’. Modern literatures all over the world developed under the impact of two competing tendencies: the demands of newly emerging nation-states on the one hand, and, on the other hand, the paradigms of Western modernity and globalization that ignore and even negate territorial and civilizational boundaries. It can be argued (simultaneously contesting Huntington’s notion of clashing civilizations) that there are no clear-cut cultural or civilizational borders but that they are, as part and parcel of hegemonic discourses, negotiable, constantly shifting, and thus obscure.<sup>12</sup> In the course of such processes of negotiation and demarcation, the ‘civilizations’ involved developed sets of beliefs and ideas delineating the Other. Not only did the ‘Occident’ construct the ‘Orient’, as Said would put it; the ‘Orient’, too – in fact, most regions and cultures exposed to the Western striving for power and dominance – composed their own sets of beliefs and ideas that were to mark off the ‘Occident’ or West, or whatever other Other challenged the self-understanding

---

<sup>11</sup> It might appear as an ironical stroke of scholarly fate that this volume has found the kind interest of Rodopi and is now published in the framework of a series that focuses on ‘post-colonial literatures in English’, clearly indicating the desideratum of a forum for comparative literary studies in non-Western literatures and languages.

<sup>12</sup> Taking up Wallerstein’s position that “the concept of civilizations (plural) arose as a defence against the ravages of civilization (singular),” Johann P. Arnason contends that “civilization in the singular was an ideological projection of the capitalist world system and its expansionist dynamic; the plural version of the concept is therefore best understood as an empowering device designed to boost peripheral resistance to the systematic centre by contesting the cultural hegemony of the latter”; Arnason, *Civilizations in Dispute: Historical Questions and Theoretical Traditions* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2003): 7–8. Revisiting the paradigms of multiple modernities and civilizations in this context can provide an additional tool enabling the emphasis to be shifted from the ever-domineering ‘Western Self’ to the self-articulate ‘non-Western Other’, deconstructing the seemingly undisputable demarcation-lines defined through Western ‘modernity’ and ‘civilization’.

and representation of the articulating Self.<sup>13</sup> Owing to the actual power relation, the latter did not have the determining and devastating effect on the former. But especially after 9/11, obtaining a better understanding of those perception grids on all sides has become crucial. On this plane of cultural awareness, both the actual and the imagined interaction among the various sides found a unique form of articulation; here literature anticipated, communicated, questioned, and developed ideas and values, engaging old and new narratives. Since Hayden White, the concept of narratives as a decisive means of communicating the past (and thereby the present) has long found broad acknowledgment. All the more astounding, then, that in the discourse on (post)colonial intercultural encounters and the literatures involved in them, the specific scholarly expertise and its presentation should hitherto have been so scarce. As shown above, the interrelation between decolonization, nation-building, identity, and narration has been studied predominantly from the perspective of writing in the language of the former colonizers. While the (post)colonial literatures in English or French have succeeded in attracting due scholarly and public attention, the literatures in indigenous languages and their role in constituting national and cultural identities are generally marginalized, if not altogether ignored.

Any text analysis is condemned to operate within a closed frame, missing the “open-ended plenitude of meanings connecting unpredictability with other meanings and texts.”<sup>14</sup> An attempt can be made, however, to broaden that frame of reference, as Mishra and Hodge demonstrate with their critique of *The Empire Writes Back*: “For the authors of *EWB* (*The Empire Writes Back*), once the context of a text is understood, there is nothing terribly difficult about a Sanskrit compound or a hidden cultural text which might require specialized knowledge to identify.”<sup>15</sup> Taking as their example the Indian song of Gibreel quoted in Rushdie’s *The Satanic Verses* and discussed in *The Empire Writes Back*, Mishra and Hodge demonstrate with acuity how postcolonial readings of non-Western texts are destined to miss fundamental layers of cultural information when the (at least twofold) linguistic and cultural competence is lacking:

---

<sup>13</sup> This volume also aspires to show that, provided the Western bias commonly attached is abandoned, the terms ‘Self’ and ‘Other’ can still be of good service within a critical approach to postcolonial literatures.

<sup>14</sup> Mishra & Hodge, “What is post(-)colonialism?,” 403.

<sup>15</sup> “What is post(-)colonialism?,” 403.

The fact that beneath the song is an entire text of Bombay Cinema which, to the bilingual reader, would recall, more specifically, Raj Kapoor's *Shree 420* (1955) is knowledge that *EWB* must either ignore or relegate to the level of spurious or unnecessary footnote. This supplementarity, however, even in terms of *EWB*'s own design, is counter-discursive in a radically different fashion. The supplement, the anecdotal invasion or culture-specific power, is, however, a form of intervention that questions [...] the very adequacy of a theory of the centre and its periphery.<sup>16</sup>

With its challenging diversity in geographic focus and methodological approach, *Chewing Over the West* outlines the discursive dynamics of non-Western literatures and, against the backdrop of the postcolonial situation, maps out their cultural, artistic, and intellectual spaces. Acceding to the premise that postcoloniality does not begin with the date of declared or obtained independence but that it can even be at work in societies that have not even been officially colonized, the majority of essays presented here reveal “subaltern discourses that shadow colonial paradigms at all historical stages of the colonial experience” and “discursive formations that are ideologically, not temporally, constituted.”<sup>17</sup> But it is not the relevance of literature within the framework of decolonization and postcoloniality only that this volume wishes to underline; it also gives emphasis to the agency of the indigenous individual in the process of shaping a (post)modern identity while already being confronted with the even more opaque phenomenon of globalization. In some circles, the conviction still prevails that Western literature, as part and parcel of Western education, came to the non-Western societies as a generous but politically meaningless gift from Western civilization. Being widely underestimated agents of cultural, political, and narrative potency, non-Western literatures have been utilizing Western forms and narratives creatively for their own purposes. That by no means reduces the non-Western cultures in question to mere passive or subordinate recipients; on the contrary, they actively responded to and acted on the impact of the ‘Other’ culture. In a process of interaction and negotiation, non-Western literatures selected, rejected, remodelled, and functionalized Western forms and concepts in order to make them serve indigenous discourses. In the process of this interaction, boundaries were crossed and demarcation-lines shifted, not always along unequivocal political, social, or

---

<sup>16</sup> Mishra & Hodge, “What is post(-)colonialism?,” 403.

<sup>17</sup> Keith Foulcher, “In Search of the Postcolonial in Indonesian Literature,” *Sojourn* 10.2 (1995): 151.

cultural classifications. Many of the hybridized forms springing from these processes helped configure real and utopian identities and contributed remarkably to the self-definition of individuals, groups, and even nations.

Scrutinizing the processes of selection, appropriation, and utilization of Western literary or linguistic elements which were ‘chewed over’ with feelings of ambiguity, suspicion, and even disdain, but also with curiosity, fascination, and enthusiasm, the findings presented here give testimony to a fascinating scope of creative ‘responses’ to imported thought and discourse. The essays provide and analyze tangible data that not only encourage genuinely intercultural comparisons but also allow for hitherto unheard voices to sound. (Semi)colonialism and postcoloniality are not manifested as a single, universal form of experience and are hence presented as diverse literary expressions and often ambivalent and contradictory voices. At the same time, unexpected parallels invite further examination. Overarching models and methods for accommodating the hybridity of non-Western literatures that flourished in the tense but stimulating cultural framework of postcoloniality, nation-building, and constitution of new subjectivities are desiderata yet difficult to develop systematically, for research data are still scarce. Some initial tentative sketches, however, are tested throughout this volume, though its chief objective is to draw attention to the neglected documents of postcolonial cultural appropriation of Western thought as preserved in diverse indigenous literatures.

The case studies compiled here thus share a focus on non-Western texts which, inspired or provoked by Western literature in one way or the other, evince an active response to the impact of the modern Western world. They all adjusted modern Western concepts of narration and thought in order either to contest the same or to incorporate them into their own culture, sometimes, even, as a means of opposing a third party. Looking at examples of Asian, African, and Arab literature, the individual essays shed light on a variety of appropriative strategies in which the Western models have been ‘chewed over’ within the various local contexts. In speaking in terms of metaphoric chewing and digesting as suggested by the title of this collection, one may say that each article follows a specific ‘Western’ model (i.e. a text, a genre, or a type of character) like the blip on an x-ray screen on its journey through the ‘organism’ of the non-Western Other.<sup>18</sup> It is the

---

<sup>18</sup> I owe the ‘blip on an x-ray’ image to Tony Day, whose insightful comments during a workshop in preparation for this volume were very inspiring to all the participants. As an image for the Centre culturally ‘eating’ the Periphery, anthropophagy has found entry into a

indigenous response to this ‘alien element’ in its system that forms the core of all the essays presented here. Perceived as the monitored alien element, the Western element actually becomes the Other, and the eurocentric perspective commonly encapsulated in the binary of Self and Other as widely used in the postcolonial context is reversed. On its journey through the various bodies of literature, the Western element emerges in different places at different times, sometimes disturbing the host system, sometimes strengthening it, but always provoking and intensifying its self-perception and articulation. The case studies presented in this volume depict the various tactics employed in the encounter with the foreign ‘nutrition’ and mark both differences and similarities in this process of ‘chewing and digesting’. The entrenched metaphoric meaning of the image accentuates the premise that identity is constituted as much by exclusion as it is by integration of elements of the Other, blurring the subject’s boundaries and thus undermining the dualistic distinction of Self and Other as it is still commonly employed within the postcolonial context; in the end, the Other is always a constituent of the Self.

It is a sad fact that it takes much more than good will and well-meant encouragement for scholars in non-Western regions to enter the arena of international (global?) discourse. Our endeavour to have more contributions from ‘new-citizen’ scholars from the regions in question was not rewarded with success. We are aware of the burdensome legacy of colonialism perpetuated by the various Western ‘-isms’ that still monopolize knowledge and the definition of it – and that do not even shy away from defining the Other’s culture on its own behalf. Pragmatic reasons such as the lack of financial resources, obstructive travel regulations, or hampered access to source-material prevent many keen and capable scholars from conducting this or any kind of research. The few scholars, who, despite all obstructions, do pursue that goal successfully are subsequently confronted with the diffi-

---

number of postcolonial statements and studies, perhaps the most famous of which being that tendered by Oswald de Andrade in “Anthropophagite Manifesto,” *Revista de Antropofagia* 1.1 (May 1928). In its reverse form, the metaphor of eating the Other’s culture (encompassing possible consequences like poisoning) is quite frequently found in, for instance, Malay literature; the following being only one typical example among hundreds: “Everything that comes from the West is considered good. We do not examine it with due scrutiny but swallow (it) raw without thinking first” (“*Segala-gala jang datang dari Barat sadjalah jang dianggap baik. Kita tidak menjisahkan lebih teliti, melainkan menelan mentah2, dengan tidak berfikir*”); Abdul Wahuh, “*Mentjipta Keboedajaan Indonesia Raya,*” in *Pedoman Masyarakat* 45/46 (8–15 November 1939): 909.

cult question of how to make the results of their work known to a broader public.<sup>19</sup> Publishing in general, and translation into the common language of scholarship, English, in particular, is hindered by manifold obstacles. Notwithstanding the almost inevitable entanglement of this volume in the matrix of Western epistemology, we very much wish to encourage non-Western scholars in non-Western countries – the ‘new citizens’ – to partake more vigorously in the debate.

### The Essays

The fourteen contributions presented here scrutinize the Western impact on non-Western literatures targeting various literary milieux and covering different sorts of literary texts ranging from so-called ‘high’ literature to popular fiction, from drama to ethnographic writing. The essays illustrate the sometimes violent, sometimes subtle conflict that indigenous writers and intellectuals in colonized, semi-colonized, and formerly colonized cultures were facing after the West had burst into their lives with the aim of taking control of their homelands and their minds. The Other’s culture was experienced as malady and remedy at once; and this colonial legacy still lingers on. Western skills were admired and desired; values and concepts such as rationality or individuality were celebrated. At the same time, these very values and concepts were despised as a threat to everything that was familiar. In the opening essay, on postcolonial Arabic writing, RASHEED EL-ENANY impressively depicts this ambivalence as one characteristic feature of Arab perceptions of the West. El-Enany goes back to the first encounter between Arabs and modern Europe in 1798, when Napoleon invaded Egypt. Discussing the annals of the chronicler Al-Jabarti, he delineates the dilemma that Egyptian intellectuals were confronted with, realizing as they did that Napoleon’s rule brought not only foreign domination but also modernity, its science and inventions, sophisticated administration, and civil rights for the people. Accordingly, their writings on the East–West encounter are marked by a deep tension springing from the recognition of the Western Other as the very foil against which they had to define the *Self*. The conflict prompted them to denigrate the materialism of the West while

---

<sup>19</sup> In Indonesia and Malaysia, the regions of my expertise, publications like *Identitas dan Postkolonialitas di Indonesia* (Identity and Postcoloniality in Indonesia), ed. S.J. Budi Susanto (Yogyakarta: Kanisius, 2003), are unfortunately still very rare and clearly dependent on the stimulus (and financial support?) of ‘the West’, in this case the USA.

glorifying the spirituality of the East, but the ambivalence of rejection and admiration always remained discernible and would sometimes even coalesce in one person. Throughout history, under French and British rule and with the struggle for independence at its height and into the twentieth century, Arab writers constantly faced the paradoxical situation that liberation from Western dominance meant partial internalization of Western thought.

The conundrum of the colonial condition as depicted above has been present in all the regions under discussion in this volume. Often enough, the conflict was blocked off but then resurfaced in a vital artistic production. The need to modernize, however, was clearly felt, certainly in intellectual circles, inevitably leading to the question of how to leave tradition behind without blindly emulating the West. In this volume, the Self and the Other do not emerge as the static components of intercultural relation that the hegemonic debates on (post)colonialism tend to see in them. Rather, they stand as productive variables, also acknowledging the constructive potential generated by the tension between them, a tension in some cases spurred by a third element identified by Arnason as the “internal other par excellence”:

It is true that the early nineteenth century saw the rise of an exclusive and domineering Eurocentrism; at the same time, however, the affirmative self-image of the ascendant West was challenged from within and confronted with visions of possible alternatives that would build on the achievements of existing Western societies. This future-oriented project was the internal other par excellence, and its interaction with more external versions of otherness is central to the problematic.<sup>20</sup>

A case in point – the Malay short stories inspired by Western Marxism during the 1920s. In his essay, KEITH FOULCHER reveals a seldom considered facet of (post)coloniality. He draws attention to a literature whose producers and recipients did not (yet) perceive the colonial situation as an impasse or even as a threat to their very own subjectivity. On the contrary, for those who experienced a period when cultural demarcation-lines did not always correspond to political ones, certain aspects of colonial life opened up enthralling insights and perspectives. In the early twentieth century, colonial policy in the Dutch East Indies took a momentarily progressive turn. The liberal climate encouraged a small group of progressive Dutch to envision a synthesis of ‘East’ and ‘West’ and to unite with like-minded

---

<sup>20</sup> Arnason, *Civilization in Dispute*, 331.

members of the indigenous aristocracy under the label of ‘association’. This ‘associationist’ brand of enlightened colonial modernity found cautious expression in Dutch-language literature written by indigenous writers. Forcefully challenging the progressive liberalism of the associationists, a vernacular literature emerged around the same time. It was also born of the encounter between ‘East’ and ‘West’ but championed a quite different model of modernity, one drawing on the Western “internal other par excellence” – Marxism, a world-view that found increasing resonance in the Dutch East Indies. This literature was written in the lingua franca of Malay and employed indigenous narrative traditions to convey its message. In his analysis, Foulcher gives a fascinating picture of a movement and its literature that were outspokenly anti-capitalist but not yet anti-imperialist, that saw ‘the West’ not yet as a cultural and political antagonist but pursued the vision of a shared humanity. The West was not yet defined as the Other *per se*. The dilemma of experiencing the West as ‘malady and remedy’ in one was not yet a concern of this literature; Western culture was not threatening but magnetic, particularly Western technology. In the protected space of literature, the playful invention of new cultural and national identities could blossom. After the failed communist upheavals in 1926–27 and the subsequent phase of strict law-and-order policy, this radical but vibrant vernacular literature was condemned to sink into oblivion.

In EVAN MWANGI’S essay, Marxism left its marks only obliquely. First, it can be traced in Mwangi’s critical reassessment of one of the most influential African intellectuals, Ngũgĩ wa Thiong’o, who, a Marxist and novelist, playwright, political activist and cultural theorist in one, proclaimed that the abandoning of the English language was an essential prerequisite for the true liberation from the legacy of colonial domination. Secondly, Mwangi’s general approach concurs with Marx’s tenet that oppression always encapsulates a liberating force. Mwangi argues that the anthropophagic appropriation of the oppressor’s language and culture, here English, and its hybrid outcome has grown into a genuine and thus valuable constituent of Kenya’s culturescape. In its very own way, Mwangi’s essay confirms Rushdie’s observation “that those peoples who were once colonized by the language (English) are now rapidly remaking it, domesticating it, becoming more and more relaxed about the way to use it,” concluding that “the English language ceased to be the sole possession of the English some time

ago.”<sup>21</sup> But this credo carries the air of apologetic rationalization for a much too eager adoption of the Empire’s language as first language. Mwangi’s essay, on the other hand, presents a wide range of examples from Kenyan arts and literature in order to analyze, first, in what ways exactly the English language was ‘remade’ and ‘domesticated’, or, to use the leading motif of this volume, how it was ‘chewed over’, in big chunks or small bites, to be eventually absorbed into Kenya’s vernaculars, where it entered all social layers as a productive, sometimes even strengthening stimulant.<sup>22</sup> By way of creatively absorbing elements of the colonizer’s language and culture into vernacular children’s songs, tales, novels, and anti-English critical essay writing, local languages developed into the prime medium for talking, singing, and writing back to the former colonizers. Adding a new dimension to Homi Bhabha’s concept of mimicry and also challenging Said’s notion of a postcolonial nation, Mwangi makes it quite clear that the anthropophagic intertextuality of Kenyan texts neither diminishes nor hampers Kenyanness, nor does it celebrate fragmented authenticity – and it is certainly not tantamount to submission to the West.

Providing data and first-hand observations from within the culture of Burma, U WIN PE’S essay encompasses information and perspectives that contributes remarkably to the comparative exercise taken on in this volume. Choosing a straightforward, mostly chronological style of presentation, U Win Pe’s essay uniquely links up a number of pivotal issues that recur in the specific regional contexts of the subsequent essays in this volume. Portraying the changing reception of Western literature and theatre in Burma throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, U Win Pe gives a vivid picture of an Asian society in motion. The role of individual mediators in the progress of ‘chewing over’ Western models and the ongoing negotiation between mediators and recipients are vital aspects brought to the fore in this article. As was the case in Siam/Thailand (see Rachel Harrison’s essay), the role of mediator was to a crucial degree taken by high representatives of the royal court. Furthermore, U Win Pe depicts how Western genres like the novel, but also the modern theatre play and the short story, were adopted and transformed in such a way that generic concepts could no longer uphold a claim to universalism. He gives numerous examples of

---

<sup>21</sup> Quoted from Salman Rushdie, “‘Commonwealth Literature’ Does Not Exist” (1983), in Salman Rushdie, *Imaginary Homelands: Essays and Criticism, 1981–1991* (London: Granta/Viking Penguin, 1991): 64.

<sup>22</sup> See also Rushdie, “‘Commonwealth Literature’ Does Not Exist,” 70.

textual appropriation of Western models that capture masterly all the ambiguity intrinsic to translation/adaptation. In his essay, U Win Pe anticipates a crucial conclusion to be confirmed and substantiated by the subsequent essays: when applied in the context of non-Western literature and theatre, a re-evaluation of Western genre concepts and notions of originality and copy is inevitable.

Amina Azza–Bekkat, Saddik Gohar, and Ursula Lies focus in their contributions on examples of purposeful and directed ‘writing back’. In all three cases, the Western element is employed to serve the decolonizing process, albeit introduced within varied political and cultural constellations and with different degrees of directness and obliquity. This form of ‘writing back and against’, exercised in Arabic and Vietnamese, constitutes a deliberate act of protest aimed at the oppressor, but only in the case of Algeria is the oppressor a Western colonial power. In the first part of her essay, AMINA AZZA–BEKKAT discusses the appropriation of foreign cultural elements as a principle part of Algerian cultural life and points out that hybridity has at all times been found not only in prose but also in oral forms of narration, in theatre presentations, poems, and songs composed in Arabic and Tamazight. In the second part, the author illustrates with selected prose examples how the French and allegedly ‘superior’ text-culture was being ‘chewed’ by the non-Western culture – to be ‘spit’ mockingly in the face of the (ex-)colonizer. Designed as contrapuntal pieces, prose texts of both the francophone and indigenous literatures of Algeria responded to the colonial oppressors by intentionally inverting crucial expressions of the colonizers’ culture. Central to Azza–Bekkat’s argument is the novel *L’Étranger* by Albert Camus, perhaps the most famous French novel to have nurtured such contrapuntal creativity. The central scene of the white protagonist killing an Arab man on a beach near Algiers reverberates in many novels by Algerian writers, among them Kateb Yacine, Mohamed Dib, and Rachid Boudjedra. With her discussion of some of their novels, Azza–Bekkat illustrates vividly how indigenous writers, by wittily modifying Western elements, turned their novels into weapons to contest, in a non-violent manner, aggression and intolerable violence.

Violence and aggression also assume a prominent place in the Arabic poetry studied by SADDIK GOHAR. While the influence of T.S. Eliot on literary themes and narrative technique in Arabic poetry has been widely researched in relation to the pre-Second World War generation of poets, it has passed almost unnoticed in the study of more recent poetry. Saddik’s

essay fills this gap. He unravels how Eliot's works, first and foremost *The Waste Land*, provided a rich source of inspiration for Al-Nawwab, as reflected in his collection *Watariyyat Layliyya* (Night lyrics, 1985). Employing Eliot's modernist discourse but also his concept of tradition and poetic techniques, Al-Nawwab revises Islamic narratives in order to expose the corruptness, decadence, and despotism that, according to the poet, rulers in the present Arab world indulge in. Formulating unveiled criticism and not shying away from using obscene language, Al-Nawwab's transformation of Eliot's narrative devices and strategies deviates from Eliot's moral order; it serves a clear political end. Unlike the preceding generation of Arabic poets, Al-Nawwab no longer emulates the Western model but seeks dialogue with it; a dialogue that bears the same ambiguous attitude towards Western culture as that described in El-Enany's essay in this volume. Again, the ambiguity proves to be productive, also in the sense that the writing-back, autobiographically tinted, concerns itself only marginally with 'the West'; the target is the Arabic rulers and the ideological structures that paralyze the people, preventing them from overcoming the political and cultural stagnation.

Many non-Western political, cultural, and literary movements adopted Western elements in the course of their struggle for liberation from their own regimes or an external non-Western power, and, almost as a rule, the Western elements adopted were miraculously 'skinned' of all their negative attributions when 'chewed over' – as if they were consumed as an appreciated delicacy. Such silent shifts in connotation as can be seen in Al-Nawwab's works also figure centrally in the essay by URSULA LIES on Duong Thu Huong's *Novel Without a Name* (*Tieu thuyet vo de*, 1991). Despite the fact that the novel has been banned in Vietnam since its publication, *Novel Without a Name* is widely read. Refusing to take the official but simplifying view, this novel can be considered the first anti-heroic novel written in the Vietnamese language that dares to take a critical and differentiating stance on war in general and the Vietnam War in particular. As a source of inspiration for her novel, Duong Thu Huong names Erich Maria Remarque's anti-war novel *All Quiet on the Western Front* (*Im Westen nichts Neues*, 1928). Presenting exclusive interview material in combination with a thorough comparative text analysis, Ursula Lies opens up this Vietnamese appropriation of the famous German novel for a broader interpretation. Lies not only finds striking parallels in content and form between the two novels in question, but she also unfolds the intercalation of prose fiction and bio-

graphy in both these cases. But most importantly, she draws attention to a form of writing-back that is directed at an internal power. Lies shows how Duong Thu Huong adapted Remarque's story not only with the intention of emphasizing the cruelty of the Vietnam war (and war in general) but simultaneously to criticize the Vietnamese regime for propagating a distorted, one-sidedly glorifying picture of that war; a picture that presents the Vietnamese as triumphant war heroes, while the terrible loss and civil suffering on all sides, including the American, are concealed. This critical novel, first published in Vietnamese in the USA and translated into, among other languages, French, English, German, Japanese, and Dutch, made its author a celebrity and an outcast in her own country.

The next three essays draw attention to the culturally self-reflective function of writing, rather than enunciating the immediate indigenous response to the West or any other dominating power. All three case studies illustrate the transformation of certain Western narrative modes into a flexible instrument for critical self-reflection on the part of those exposed to and coerced by Western influences. In contrast to the essays by Azza-Bekkat, Saddik, and Lies, it is thus not the unconcealed writing-back to the Other but, rather, the disguised (sometimes unaware?) writing to a new Self that characterizes these cases.

DANIELA MEROLLA's essay on Berber writing, like those of Saddik and Lies, centres on the autobiographic element in the appropriation process, exemplified by the life of the Berber (Kabyle) writer Belaïd Ait Ali, who, while working as an informant for the French colonial power during the 1940s, began to use Western ethnographic writing to reflect on his own individuality and the uniqueness of his culture. He started re-writing tales and creating short stories of his own, incorporating core features of the genres of autobiography and ethnography, the latter a type of writing designed to serve the colonizer by objectifying and classifying the colonized in order to permit a certain degree of controllability. By autobiographically importing his Self into the text, he not only remodelled the genre of ethnographic writing but also subverted it, to the extent of turning it into a medium of expression for both the de-colonizing individual and the re-emerging cultural Self of his people. In his writings, Ait Ali gradually displaces the French ethnographer and voices his own concept of a modern identity and 'Kabylness' instead. The above process of acquisition and inversion of a Western mode of writing, and hence world of thought, resulted in a number of remarkable publications in the Kabyle language Tamazight,

manifestations of cultural articulation that have strengthened the Berbers in their still ongoing struggle for recognition of their language and culture.

THOMAS DE BRUIJN and GUZEL STRELKOVA both investigate the critical, sometimes playful exploration of Western narrative conventions from a different angle: namely, with a focus on the aesthetics of novel-writing in modern Hindi. Modern Indian literature emerged, like the majority of modern literatures discussed in this volume, under colonial rule. In its early years, Indian literature in general was very much determined by political discourses, the moral and ideological components of which fictional characters were given the task of conveying. After Independence, it was Hindi literature that first moved away from the moralist stance and introduced more realistic styles of writing, also allowing for individualized psychological insights. At first sight, the adopted Western form of the novel would appear to reflect the message: modernization and individualization. However, first impressions can be deceptive, as De Bruijn and Strelkova both prove in their close analyzes of selected indigenous texts. The modern Hindi novel in its hybridized form manifests the tension and symbiotic co-existence that simultaneously links and divides all of the modern and traditional worlds involved. Inherent in the ostensibly westernized texts are camouflaged layers of indigenous traditional meaning that could easily escape a purely Western reading – a phenomenon also encountered in other literatures, as this collection of essays documents, but submitted to close scrutiny by De Bruijn and Strelkova in their case studies of Hindi novels from the 1930s to the 1960s. ‘Misled’ by the Western form, the (Western) reader expects a typical novelistic character in the Western sense. But characters in Indian and other Asian novels and short stories are defined and determined primarily by their actions and their social context rather than by their inner urges and personality traits. De Bruijn stresses the fact that to dismiss this feature as flawed literary characterization is engage in grave misapprehension, for the Indian author has at his/her disposal a myriad means of making a character come alive for his/her audience. These tools, however, rely heavily on the use of language and cultural signs that are unproductive for a foreign reader used to Western modes of characterization and lacking the specific cultural and linguistic competence.

Looking at another selection of postcolonial Hindi novels, GUZEL STRELKOVA brings the gender aspect into the picture when extracting the image of the modern Indian woman that was emerging during the 1920s. She convincingly argues that this new heroine owes most of her features to

Flaubert's *Madame Bovary*, but points out that female protagonists of Russian literature also contributed to this male re-definition of womanhood and femininity; rather than perceiving Western Europe or USA as the West, many Indian writers indeed turned to Russia as 'the West'. The interpretative frame of the new heroines tallies with the ideology and artistic intentions of their male creators. The new female protagonist is associated with a westernized life-style, often reproducing the cliché of a modern Western woman as imagined by male-dominated Hindi society. Remarkably, female (economic) independence is no longer equated with infidelity. Juxtaposing the modern heroine with the traditional Indian woman, most of the Indian writers under discussion persuade their readers that the new heroine is only seemingly Western, that she, in fact, is even the ideal prototype of the modern Indian woman. The apparently independent behaviour of the heroine, however, can only flourish under the guidance of an educated male figure (a husband, father, or enlightened progressive *guru*). The male hero wisely understands that female independence forms a crucial prerequisite for creating the modern citizen, equipped to live up to demands of the new epoch of modernity.

Texts have been travelling back and forth between print media and stage, and many Western texts found their way into non-Western cultures by way of theatre adaptations: an assertion evidenced by Matthew Cohen and Anna Suvorova, who provide abundant proof in their essays for such textual flow between the media. Their discussion relates to the negotiation of form and aesthetics as discussed in the foregoing essays but focuses on the issues of mimicry and authenticity when they mark the ways in which the Western element, again bare of all negative connotations, functioned as a catalyst in the process of defining a national aesthetic incorporating traditional 'structures of feeling' (Raymond Williams).

ANNA SUVOROVA presents a complex case of cultural self-recognition through the Western Other, delineating the process in which the Indian *Naya drama* (new drama) appropriated Western models that consequently helped, in a roundabout way, to revive the aesthetic conventions of age-old autochthonous folk and ritual drama. As described for Indian literature earlier on, the character and objectives of Indian theatre, too, underwent major changes after Independence; blind imitation of Western models was replaced by resurrected national aesthetics – albeit still with the help of devices and ideas coming from the West. The new theatre generation no longer conceived of theatre primarily as a mere source of profit but valued

it as a means of creative expression. A result of this shift was the *naya drama* of the 1960s and 1970s and theatre plays in the vernaculars – for instance, Bengali, Marathi, Kannada, Hindi, and Gujarati. Both the dramatic form and the technique of the *naya drama* reveal the influence of modern and experimental Western styles. Inspiration was drawn from concepts such as psychological symbolism (Strindberg, Ibsen), the alienation effect or *Verfremdungseffekt* (Brecht), Chekhov's polyphony, Sartre's inner soliloquy, and existential alienation (Camus, Pirandello); Brecht even advanced to the status of one of India's most celebrated theatre figures during this period. Exploring themes concerning human alienation, the *naya drama* was also discussed in terms of Indian existentialism. Authentic and complete translations of Western authors had made the new concepts accessible in Indian vernaculars. But, Suvorova argues, however omnipresent the Western element, it was but a bridge leading to a renewed Indian theatre fostering a strong affinity for traditional aesthetics.

While the majority of Western texts transformed by the Indian *naya drama* can be subsumed under the category conventionally labelled 'high-brow literature', the Malay *komedie stamboel* investigated by MATTHEW COHEN tended to adapt anything – from the West and East – that could possibly be transformed to entertain a Malay-speaking audience. This popular hybrid musical theatre emerged in the Dutch East Indies in 1891. Employing archive material and press publications of the time, Cohen skillfully links the ample details from colourful stage life to the broader framework of interethnic cultural communication within and beyond the theatre world. He impressively illustrates the various levels on which *komedie stamboel* touched on and affected the *Lebenswelt* of its urban spectators. A site of hegemonic struggle, the *komedie stamboel* was appreciated by Eurasian and Malay critics as a valuable cultural novelty, whereas Dutch critics denounced it as contemptible mimicry of European originals. On an individual level, this early modern theatre offered both the actor and the spectator the space to create new identities beyond the constraints of social order, dress code, or conduct; a freedom that sometimes took its toll in the form of fistfights, injuries, and arrests. In alliance with the interactive situation of the actual performance, the imaginative identities as constituted through acting – the ultimate embodiment of an Other *and* invention of individual and collective Selves – encouraged both performer and audience to envisage community in novel designs. More than this, the Western

element in particular invited everyone to reposition Self and Other on a global scale.

The two closing essays take as their point of departure the emblematic character of the mastermind Sherlock Holmes, who gave primal impetus to the new genre of detective and crime fiction, not only within his own cultural context but also in many Asian and African countries. Despite its uncompromising mission to defend and restore the hegemonic order, Western detective fiction, remarkably enough, provided a unique and efficient medium in the decolonization process for playfully fantasizing about the strong modern subject and the independent nation – in defiance of the Western powers. In colonial Indonesia and Burma, but also in the semi-colonies Siam/Thailand and China, detective fiction came to play an intriguing role in the rapidly changing individual, ethnic, and national self-perception. RACHEL HARRISON and DORIS JEDAMSKI show, in their essays, the ways in which the detective in Siam/Thailand and the Dutch East Indies at the beginning of the twentieth century served in the indigent quest for a self-defined modern and national identity. Simultaneously, the detective impersonates the tension of imaginative and real selves, of utopian and realistic blueprints for selfhood. In the Dutch East Indies, the detective represented a new order still in the making, whereas in Siam/Thailand he was to defend and strengthen the modified laws of the old order.

During his student years in England, Crown Prince Vajiravudh of Siam/Thailand (crowned King Rama VI in 1910) became strongly attracted to literature and even produced several works of fiction himself. In 1904–05, he published, under a pen-name, fifteen serialized Thai detective stories entitled *Nithan Thorng-In* (The Tales of Tho'ng In). They featured the detective Tho'ng In and his helper by the name of Mr Wat – not coincidentally, both reminiscent of Holmes and his assistant Watson, as Harrison's meticulous analytical textual comparison attests. She identifies the stories as intent-loaded adaptations of a number of Sherlock Holmes stories by Sir Arthur Conan Doyle, but Edgar Allan Poe's "The Murders in the Rue Morgue" was also emulated. Reconstructing the adaptation process in all its intriguing shades, Harrison notes the omission of features as conscientiously as she marks the additions to the Thai version. Transcending the level of textual comparison, she situates this specific case of literary appropriation within a scrupulously researched sociohistorical and political context, elucidating the place that these seemingly innocent adaptations are

likely to have had in the Crown Prince's personal political agenda. Harrison unravels four different ways of 'chewing over' the Western element of detective stories, all of which display symptoms consistent with a 'social nervous condition' or 'cultural bulimia'.<sup>23</sup> As in most other cases presented in this volume, the first and most basic form of the 'chewing over' is the actual taking-in of the Western source text by way of translation/adaptation. Secondly, generic features are 'chewed over', and it transpires that certain genre markers, such as the detailed portrayal of the detective, were of less importance for Thai readers than isolated and random elements of the content of the crime story – an observation also to be made in the case of colonial Indonesia. At the same time, elements and motives from traditional narratives – for instance, the well-known ghost Naang Naak – find their way into the stories. The third form of 'chewing-over' links the Western model directly to the specific Thai social and political reality: the processes of modernization throughout all strata of Thai society, the question of authority, and above all the lingering threat of colonization. On this level, the texts are cunningly deployed in affirmation of the royal court and its assessment of a future affiliation with Western culture and power. The 'toughest bite', however, appears to have been the construction of a national Self. While the West, represented by the *farang* or foreigner, was the Other evidently positioned on the outside, the texts under discussion construct a National Self that additionally rigorously excludes the groups of Vietnamese and Chinese that formed part of Thai society. They were out-cast – the 'Other within'.

Jedamski departs from the widely shared assumption that Sherlock Holmes, as the personification of the strong, rational Western subject, fulfils but one task, which is to restore the social, symbolic, and narrative order before the eyes of the reader. In the Malay world of the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries, the literary figure of Sherlock Holmes, the icon of idealized Western modern subjectivity and rationality, was embraced but soon abandoned; the detective, however, remained – in a peculiar hybridized form. Holmes apparently provided the clay used to mould the ideal indigenous model of a strong Self, one that could be both national hero and independent modern individual. He did live on as an icon in advertisements, essays, articles, and illustrations, detached from his own lite-

---

<sup>23</sup> These expressions were playfully suggested by Harrison herself during the workshop in preparation for this volume.

rary universe, but it was the indigenous intellectual who took over Holmes' role as the restorer of order. In the early years and almost as a rule, it was a highly educated Chinese Malay who assumed that role, later sometimes a noble Javanese, while during the late-1930s it was the Islamic-Sumatran nationalist who triumphed in indigenous crime fiction. But what social, symbolic, and narrative order was the indigenous detective expected to be restoring in colonial Indonesia, what order was he supposed to be anticipating, reviving or establishing? Right from the start, the Western law-enforcing detective had to compete with a number of law-breaking and rebellious heroes, also introduced from the West and made accessible through translations into Malay and the vernaculars, among them Monte Cristo, Fantomas, Arsène Lupin, and Rocambole. In a phase of vital literary experimentation, Islamic Malay writers from Sumatra created a blend of both types of popular hero. The result was a Robin Hood-like 'good bad guy', the ultimate sleuth, who not only combined within his character the rational law-enforcing detective and the skilful opponent of law and order but who also harvested the fictitious life of the Scarlet Pimpernel and the biography of real-life political leader Tan Malaka, ultimately bringing to life the traditional noble knight, the *ksatria*. In a celebration of his overwhelming hybridity, this new hero suggests a strong indigenous subject but remains elusive and ambiguous, negating colonial rule first and foremost through his omnipresent invisibility.

The essays presented in this volume form but one first step, they do not aim at painting a complete picture. But an ambitious goal will have been achieved if these fourteen essays succeed in indicating to the reader the richness of indigenous literary sources that has for too long been neglected within cultural studies and related disciplines. These sources are far from being exhausted, and many more of them are waiting for the inquiring mind to tap into them. It is therefore to be hoped that the present endeavour, despite its patchwork nature, will stimulate and inspire other researchers to pick up the thread and conduct further research in the field of postcolonial literatures in indigenous languages – both within their own cultural locales and within the broader framework of comparative studies.

WORKS CITED

- Andrade, Oswald de. "Anthropophagite Manifesto," *Revista de Antropofagia* 1.1 (May 1928).
- Arnason, Johann P. *Civilizations in Dispute: Historical Questions and Theoretical Traditions* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2003).
- Ashcroft, Bill, Gareth Griffiths & Helen Tiffin. *The Empire Writes Back: Theory and Practice in Post-Colonial Literatures* (London & New York: Routledge, 1989).
- Budi Susanto, S.J., ed. *Identitas dan Postkolonialitas di Indonesia* (Identity and Postcoloniality in Indonesia) (Yogyakarta: Kanisius, 2003).
- Chambers, Iain, & Lidia Curti, ed. *The Post-Colonial Question: Common Skies, Divided Horizons* (London & New York: Routledge, 1996).
- D'haen, Theo, ed. *Weer-werk: Schrijven en terugschrijven in koloniale en postkoloniale literaturen* (Work of resistance: writing and writing back in colonial and postcolonial literatures) (*Semaian* 15; Leiden: Vakgroep Talen en Culturen van Zuidoost-Azië en Oceanië, 1996).
- , & Patricia Krüs, ed. *Colonizer and Colonized* (Amsterdam & Atlanta GA: Rodopi, 2000).
- Foulcher, Keith. "In Search of the Postcolonial in Indonesian Literature," *Sojourn* 10.2 (1995): 147–171.
- , & Tony Day. "Introduction" to *Clearing a Space: Postcolonial Readings of Modern Indonesian Literature*, ed. Keith Foulcher & Tony Day (Leiden: KITLV P, 2002): 1–17.
- Hall, Stuart, & Paul du Gay. *Questions of Cultural Identity* (London, Thousand Oaks CA & New Delhi: Sage, 1996).
- Loomba, Ania. *Colonialism/Postcolonialism* (London & New York: Routledge, 1998).
- Memmi, Albert. *The Colonizer and the Colonized*, intro. Jean-Paul Sartre, tr. Howard Greenfield (*Portrait du colonisé précédé du portrait du colonisateur*, 1957; tr. Boston MA: Beacon, 1969).
- Mishra, Vijay, & Bob Hodge, "What is post(-)colonialism?" *Textual Practice* 5.3 (Winter 1991): 399–414.
- Rushdie, Salman. "The New Empire Within Britain" (1982), in Rushdie, *Imaginary Homelands: Essays and Criticism, 1981–1991* (London: Granta/Viking Penguin, 1991): 129–38.
- . "'Commonwealth Literature' Does Not Exist" (1983), in Rushdie, *Imaginary Homelands: Essays and Criticism, 1981–1991* (London: Granta/Viking Penguin, 1991): 61–70.
- . "Imaginary Homelands" (1982), in Rushdie, *Imaginary Homelands: Essays and Criticism, 1981–1991* (London: Granta/Viking Penguin, 1991): 9–21.
- Wahuh, Abdul. "Mentjipta Keboedajaan Indonesia Raya," *Pedoman Masyarakat* 45/46 (8–15 November 1939): 909.